CHAPTER FOUR

The Political Setting of the Nineteenth Century and its influence on the Conception of the Byronic Hero

This chapter will deal with Byron's political involvement in England and its influence on his conceptualisation of the Byronic hero, with a particular focus on the role of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon's influence in Byron's writings was especially evident between the period 1814 – 1816 in poems such as *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and the Turkish Tales. The reign of Napoleon had made a deep impression on Byron and his poems. Byron saw him as a misunderstood, tragic figure, one who was often wronged and had to fight oppression – traits typically found in the Byronic hero. The Byronic hero was a symbol of hope for the masses who were suffering from the after effects of the French Revolution. He gave strength and consolation to the people who felt oppressed and powerless and helped them to deal with their frustrations because of the political and social changes in their lives. Byron was initially filled with respect for Napoleon and supported the Emperor's role as a champion of freedom and liberator of the French Nation, a beacon of hope for a just and free society. This admiration was reflected in some of his shorter poems specially dedicated to Napoleon. However, Byron's admiration for Napoleon gradually turned to disillusionment as a result of the latter's tyrannical conduct in the war and his subsequent military failures, and reached its climax with his final defeat in Waterloo.

This chapter will trace how the events in the French Revolution and more importantly, Byron's ambivalence towards Napoleon is reflected in his conceptualisation of the Byronic hero. The discussion will focus on *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, several of

the Turkish Tales namely *The Giaour, The Corsair, The Bride of Abydos* and *Lara,* as well as the dramatic poem *Manfred.*

Byron's political background

The French Revolution of 1789 was a fundamental turning point in world history and shook the whole of Europe. At first, the revolution was greeted with optimism and inspiration attracting intellectuals, writers, philosophers and even composers. It inspired enthusiasm for the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.[1] The storming of the Bastille in 1789 to release political prisoners acted as a symbol which attracted the strong support of liberal opinions. Influential and respectable groups in England were agitating for the reform of Parliament including William Pitt who later headed the ruling Tory party[2] and became Prime Minister of England. The prospects of changing society for the better was promising to them. However, the Revolution gradually turned into disillusionment for these liberal groups as oppression, injustice and tyranny set in. There was violence and bloodshed as members of the old aristocracy were massacred and members of the new French Republic fought among themselves and with other countries. It was further heightened when Napoleon Bonaparte became emperor and then dictator of France.[3] Much sympathy poured in from the intellectual and literary community for the French people who were treated with oppression and injustice.

Many poets and intellectuals voiced their discontent of the revolution through their writings. Wordsworth in his famous autobiographical poem *The Prelude* contrasts the ideals of the early years of the French Revolution and how the new leaders had turned into oppressors in the later years. His poem reflected the situation in England, in which the bourgeois rule of the king and church of England under the leadership of

Prime Minister William Pitt and the Tory party had brought about a great deal of dissatisfaction among the masses. Napoleon's final defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 was greeted with ambivalence among liberal and radical thinkers in England. However, the aftermath of war was followed by years of social unrest in England. The Industrial Revolution had brought about widespread misery and sufferings especially among the working classes.[4] This situation led to feelings of discontent towards the ruling government whom the people felt were not interested in improving the condition of the masses. They were especially repelled by the horrors of industrial capitalism. The ruling class had good reason to be alarmed by the masses who were beginning to voice out their dissatisfaction, demanding political and social reforms. The government began to adopt repressive measures against the masses culminating in the 'Peterloo Massacre' (ironically recalling the Battle of Waterloo) of 1819 in which government troops charged a large group of workers who were meeting in Manchaster to demand social and political reforms. Nine were killed and thousands more injured.[5]

The most outstanding representative of revolutionary democracy was Tom Paine who wrote *The Rights of Man* (1791) in answer to pro government Irishman Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790). Other notable writers were William Blake, Mary Wollstonecraft and William Hazlitt. Fearing the influential support for the opposition Whig party especially the most eloquent and charismatic leader of the Whig party, Charles James Fox, William Pitt organised a counterattack of the opposition forces eventually charging those who supported France for treason.[6] Like the major British Romantics before him such as William Blake, Robert Burns, and William Wordsworth, Byron was a staunch advocate of "liberty, equality and fraternity" that were the core

principles of the early years of the French Revolution. It is a well-known fact that the French Revolution had made a deep impression on Byron. The Romantic period was considered at the time to be "a momentous epoch" (Everest, 48). Byron as well as the other second-generation English Romantic poets worked in an atmosphere filled with political conflicts and social upheaval amidst the French revolution and anarchy. From 1812 till 1820, England was in a deplorable state, due to misgovernment, political conflicts and the personal weakness of the Regent as well as its drastic transition towards modernity.[7] Byron thought the English system was a failure for the ordinary people as only the aristocracy, gentry and capitalists alone were represented in both Houses of Parliament. Byron's close association with friends in the English political circle led to his involvement in politics. On November 4, 1811, Byron met Thomas Moore in Samuel Rogers' house. Rogers was a poet of reputation and a supporter of the opposition Whig party.[8] It was through Samuel Rogers that Byron became a member of the Whig society and was introduced to Lord Holland, leader of the parliamentary opposition. As an aristocrat, Byron inherited political privileges and supported the Whig party as he believed it to be the party of freedom and humanity (Jump, 27).

Byron took his seat in the House of Lords on January 15, 1812. He made his maiden speech on February 27 1812 on the subject of the Luddite[9] riots in Nottingham. Byron appealed for sympathy towards the misery of the workers and made a strong attack on the Tory bill to impose the capital offense on the rioters. Byron argued that this law was the cause of so much unemployment and hardship throughout Britain. His second speech was on Catholic claims two months later on 21 April 1812. His third and last speech was on Major Cartwright's petition for Parliamentary reform on 1 June 1813.[10] Byron's love for

political liberty and democracy was partly inherited from the "philosophes" and from European Enlightenment.[11] Byron admired American leaders George Washington and Benjamin Franklin whom he felt were not corrupted by power and lived up to the standards of democracy. It was no secret that Byron idolized Napoleon and regarded him to be a powerful military force during the French Revolution. Thomas Moore points out that "Byron was as much the child and representative of the Revolution in poetry as another great man of the age – Napoleon - was in statesman and warfare" (158). Byron's first attraction to Napoleon began after his victory at Lodi in Lombardy on 10 May 1796 where Napoleon broke the military power of Austria in Northern Italy. Byron had hero-worshipped Napoleon ever since his school days. A particular incident which happened at Harrow between 1803 – 1805 was recalled in his journal written on 17 November 1813 in which Byron defended his bust of Napoleon against the assault of his patriotic school comrades at a time when there was a genuine fear of a French invasion in England. This admiration continued throughout his days at the University of Cambridge where he joined the Whig Club founded by his friend Hobhouse in 1808.[12]

In England, a large Napoleonic cult emerged during the Emperor's lifetime. Whigs such as Cam Hobhouse, Samuel Whitbread, Lord and Lady Holland, Thomas Moore and William Hazlitt shared Byron's admiration for the French Emperor. These nineteenth century intellectuals viewed him as one who embodied the possibilities of the human spirit (Clubbe, 42). The Whigs in England regarded Napoleon as the advocate of democracy and were therefore anxious to reach an agreement with him, whereby France would be left in his hands without restraint. The Tories, on the other hand, feared him as the arch foe of monarchy and held that his views were subversive of the

established order (Sturzl, 390). Napoleon's military success confirmed their belief that nothing is impossible as long as one had the drive and ambition. He was a hero "everyman who broke with tradition could identify himself with in his dreams."[13] Napoleon was a man who came from nowhere and changed the way people looked at the world and at their places in it. Napoleon's reign had certainly made a deep impression on Byron and his poems as evident with the many references to Napoleon in his poetry and letters from April 1814 to March 1816. Byron wrote five poems dedicated solely to the French emperor including *Ode to Napoleon Bonarparte* (1814), *From the French* (1815), *Napoleon's Farewell* (1815), *Ode on the Star of 'The Legion of Honour' (From the French)* (1815) and *Ode (From the French)* (1816).[14] The Napoleon poems demonstrate Byron's extraordinary fascination with the French Emperor which borders on obsession. Byron even referred to him as his "little pagod" (*BLJ* 3:256) in one of his letters – a description which alludes to human divinity. Byron's empathy for Napoleon is found in one of his journal entry in which he writes:

> Oh for a republic! Hobhouse [*his friend John Cam Hobhouse*] abounds in continental anecdotes of this extraordinary man [*Napoleon*]; all in favour of his intellect and courage, but against his *bonhomie*. No wonder; how should he, who knows mankind well, do otherwise than despise and abhor them? (*BLJ* 3: 245 – 5)

For Byron, Napoleon was an exemplary tragic figure, a historical embodiment of the contradictions Byron perceived within himself.[15] Byron could strongly identify himself with Napoleon as both had troubled personal lives including a failed marriage and homosexual tendencies. In addition, both men had to contemplate exile. Both men were also ambitious and liked to compare themselves with great historical figures – Napoleon with Alexander the Great and Byron with Rousseau as well as

Napoleon himself. Just as Napoleon had conquered most of Europe, Byron had also taken the literary world by storm and made a strong impression in Europe[16].

The political events of the late 1790s and early 1800s sparked the interest of publishers and reviewers at the time. These reviews gained the attention and respect of Byron who read them consistently throughout his career. In April 1807 the success of Napoleon provoked Francis Jeffrey to analyse the origins and success of the French military machine. In the *Edinburgh Review*, he responded with a historical survey tracing the roots of Napoleon's meritocracy to the Revolution:

> By that great concussion, the whole talents of the nation were set at liberty, and rose, by their natural buoyancy, to the higher regions of the state. The ruin and confusion which it produced, did not prevent this effect from taking place; and whatever the nation may have lost in point of internal comfort or happiness, there can be no doubt that it has gained inconceivably in point of [force] and activity as a state. This is an advantage which all new governments possess, to counterbalance the many disadvantages to which they are obviously liable.[17]

Jeffrey's review certainly made a strong impression on Byron and deepened his admiration for Napoleon as a military force of the French Revolution. However, when he started on his grand tour in 1809, Byron's view of Napoleon began to change as he witnessed Napoleon's conduct in Portugal and Spain. For the first time in his life, Byron became aware of his hero's weaknesses and the complexity of his character. This realisation was extremely painful for Byron to deal with. He was devastated as Napoleon became more like a despotic ruler. After the battle of Talavera near Madrid, the numerous casualties aroused Byron's sympathies for the Spaniards and he even thought of fighting side by side with the Spaniards. Napoleon was not the inheritor of the principle of the French Revolution but was seen as a tyrant. The defeat of Napoleon in Waterloo worsened the condition of the masses. There was a deep slump after 1815 which affected

trade and brought widespread unemployment and poverty.[18] The Industrial Revolution had brought about the rise of capitalism. There was a great climate of repression and conservatism which created reaction and protest on the part of the middle classes. As an aristocrat, Byron supported the English opposition party, the Whigs, as he believed it to be the party of freedom and humanity. Napoleon's failure to fulfil his destiny in the political sphere had a deep impact on Byron and forced him to reassess his own destiny (Clubbe, 48).

The Byronic hero and the French Revolution

> But quiet to quick bosoms is a hell,
> And *there* hath been thy bane; there is a fire
> And motion of the soul which will not dwell
> In its own narrow being, but aspire
> Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
> And, but once kindled, quenchless evermore,
> Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
> Of aught but rest; a fever at the core,
> Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore. (*CHP* 3. 42.370-378)

Byron addressed these words to Napoleon, but he could equally well have been speaking to himself. Byron and Napoleon can both be described as the two greatest celebrities of the nineteenth century. In July 1809, Byron set off on a trip abroad, to Portugal, Spain, Malta, Albania, Greece and Turkey that would last two years. Byron went to Portugal and Spain while the Peninsular War was still in progress. France's conflict with England (and her Spanish and Portuguese volunteers) provided the initial context for the general political discussion developed through the poem. In Albania, Byron encountered an almost feudal civilization ruled by the ruthless and unpredictable Ali Pacha,[19] who was himself nominally under the control of the Ottoman Empire. But while Ali Pacha was able

to assert a degree of real independence, Greece remained in subjection to the Turks. The birthplace of western ideals of freedom, Greece became Byron's central focus in Cantos 1-2, whose general subject is the collapse of civilized values (McGann, 269). The experience provided the basis for the first two parts of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* which were published on 10th March 1812 after his maiden speech in parliament and before his second speech. With prophetic foresight, Childe Harold stirs the docile Greeks to action thirteen years later in 1821 when the Greek Revolt against the Turks began.[20] The publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* brought Byron instant fame and success and he became the literary toast of the season. In the same year, Napoleon would invade Russia in order to master all of Europe. During this period, Byron's poetry and letters increasingly reflect his concern with the great political issues of the day. When Byron started *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* at Janina, his attitude towards Napoleon was one of admiration (*MLJ,* 228):

> ...but he whose nod
> Has tumbled feebler despots from their sway,
> A moment pauseth ere he lifts the rod;
> A little moment deigneth to delay:
> Soon will his legions sweep through these their way;
> The West must own the Scourger of the world.
> Ah! Spain! how sad will be thy reckoning day,
> When soars Gaul's Vulture, and her wings unfurl'd, *(CHP* 1.52.540-548)

Among other various descriptions of Napoleon, Byron refers to him as 'Gaul's Vulture' and 'Scourger of the world' in this stanza to depict a heroic and fearsome figure, a military force to be reckoned with. On his way to the Rhine, he visits the field of Waterloo. He speaks of Napoleon in admiration and awe-struck sympathy in the third canto of *Child Harold's Pilgrimage:*

If like a tower upon a headland rock,
Thou hadst been made to stand or fall alone,
Such scorn of man had helped to brave the shock;
But men's thoughts were the steps which paved thy throne,
Their admiration thy best weapon shone;
The part of Philip's son was thine, not then
(Unless aside thy purple had been thrown)
Like stern Diogenes to mock at men;
For sceptred cynics earth were far too wide a den. (*CHP* 3. 41.361-369)

Byron's attachment to Napoleon reflected a sincere attachment to the revolutionary cause which the latter seemed to represent, as well as an expression of defiance against England and its ruling party. Napoleon had achieved by his own merit an opportunity to bring down the old system of a balance of despots in Europe (Woodring, 176). The conception of Childe Harold is a combination of romantic liberalism with the "Byronic" attributes of pride, misanthropy, and isolation. Harold's solitary and lonely state reflects Byron's own feelings of alienation from England, where he felt like an outcast. Byron sought refuge in the most lonely places in the Alps. Nature is a place to escape from the established order of things as he reflected in his famous 'Good Night' verses in stanza 9, Canto 1:

And now I'm in the world alone,
Upon the wide, wide sea:
But why should I for others groan,
When none will sigh for me?
Perchance my dog will whine in vain,
Till fed by stranger hands;
But long ere I come back again,
He'd tear me where he stands. (*CHP* 1.9.182 – 189)

His resentful hostility to public opinion made him voice his views more openly than he had ever done before. Canto 3 which was completed four years after the publication of Cantos 1 and 2 retains the figure of the hero as the melancholy, gloomy wanderer but is modified by Byron's own experiences and thoughts. There is a tone of resignation as all his earlier

hopes and faith in liberty and justice and Napoleon's heroism are dashed and broken. This tone of resignation and despair is evident in the following lines:

> Self-exiled Harold wanders forth again,
> With nought of hope left, but with less of gloom;
> The very knowledge that he lived in vain,
> That all was over on this side the tomb,
> Had made Despair a smilingness assume, (*CHP* 3.16.136-144)

Through the voice of the narrator, Harold expresses his disappointment and frustration as Napoleon's army began losing their battles. Finally the French Empire of Napoleon (1804-15) was overthrown at Waterloo in Canto 3.

> Stop!- for thy tread is on an Empire's dust!
> An Earthquake's spoil is sepulchred below!
> Is the spot mark'd with no colossal bust?
> Nor column trophied for triumphal show?
> None; but the moral's truth tells simpler so,
> As the ground was before, thus let it be;-
> How that red rain hath made the harvest grow!
> And is this all the world has gained by thee,
> Thou first and last of fields! King-making Victory? (*CHP* 3.17.145-153)

> And Harold stands upon this place of skulls,
> The grave of France, the deadly Waterloo!
> How in an hour the power which gave annuls
> Its gifts, transferring fame as fleeting too!
> In 'pride of place' here last the eagle flew,
> Then tore with bloody talon the rent plain,
> Pierced by the shaft of banded nations through;
> Ambitions life and labours all were vain;
> He wears the shattered links of the world's broken chain.
> (*CHP* 3.8.154 – 155)

Byron hated despotisms of every kind, and sympathized with people who were subject to domestic or to foreign tyrants. He strongly believed in liberty. He deplores the worst excesses of the revolutionaries, detests war of conquest or aggression, stressing their

futility and the human misery which they involve.[21] Byron's views on war and politics is evident in the hero's meditations in Canto 3:

> Fit retribution! Gaul may champ the bit
> And foam in fetters; - but is Earth more free?
> Did nations combat to make One submit?
> Or league to teach all Kings true Sovereignty?
> What! Shall reviving Thraldom again be
> The patched-up Idol of enlightened days?
> Shall we, who struck the Lion down, shall we
> Pay the Wolf homage? Proffering lowly gaze
> And servile knees to Thrones? No; *prove* before ye praise!
> (*CHP* 3.19.163-171)

> What deep wounds ever closed without a scar?
> The heart's bleed longest, and but heal to wear
> That which disfigures it; and they who war
> With their own hopes, and have been vanquish'd, bear
> Silence, but not submission: in his lair
> Fix'd Passion holds his breath, until the hour
> Which shall atone for years; none need despair:
> It came, it cometh, and will come, - the power
> To punish or forgive – in *one* we shall be slower.
> *(CHP* 3.84.788-796)

Jerome McGann states that "true liberty will only be achieved when men choose not to exact retributions for wrongs. Only thus can the cycle of vengeance be broken" (53). The failure of Napoleon as well as his own banishment from England and English political life made Byron voice his views more openly. In his journal on November 17 1813, Byron expresses his displeasure at Napoleon's lack of personal heroism:

> What strange tidings from the Anakim of anarchy – Buonaparte. Ever since I defended my bust of him at Harrow against the rascally time-servers, when the war broke out in 1803, he has been a "heros de Roman" of mine – on the continent; I don't want him here. But I don't like those same flights – leaving his armies, & c. I am sure when I fought for his bust at school, I did not think he would run away from himself. (*MLJ* 3:210)

On 9 April, he wrote to Thomas Moore:

> Ah! My poor little pagod, Napoleon, has walked off his pedestral. He has abdicated, they say. This would draw molten brass from the eyes of Zatanai [Satan]. (*BLJ* 4: 93)

Byron is angry that Napoleon will not behave like a tragic hero, and kill himself. To Annabelle Milbanke, he confessed;

> Buonaparte had fallen – I regret it. The restoration of the despicable Bourbons – the triumph of tameness over talent and the utter wreck of a mind which I thought superior even to Fortune – it had utterly confounded and baffled me – and unfolded more than "was dreamt of in my philosophy." (*MLJ* 4: 101)

In *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte* Byron expresses his scorn for the deposed Emperor:

> 'Tis done – but yesterday a King!
> And arm'd with King to strive-
> And now thou art a nameless thing:
> So abject – yet alive!
> Is this the man of thousand thrones,
> Who strew'd our earth with hostile bones,
> And can he thus survive?
> Since he, miscall'd the Morning Star,
> Nor man for fiend hath falled so far. (1.1-9)

Byron points out that a contributing factor to Napoleon's downfall was one weakness – vanity.[22] The result of Napoleon's lack of community of feeling with mankind is oppression of the worst kind:

> But quiet to quick bosoms is a hell,
> And *there* hath been thy bane; there is a fire
> And motion of the soul which will not dwell
> In its own narrow being, but aspire
> Beyond the fitting medium of desire;
> And, but once kindled, quenchless evermore,
> Preys upon high adventure, nor can tire
> Of aught but rest; a fever at the core,
> Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore. (*CHP* 3. 44. 370-78)

In these lines, Byron expresses how the oppressors have become so accustomed to conflict and strife that, after they have conquered all, their lives are empty and meaningless - "their lives are empty, filled with sorrow and supiness and they die like a flame unfed." Once they have attained the tyrannical heights they seek, these men are destined to look down on the hate of those below (Dowden, 146). In contrast to the description of Napoleon in Canto 3, Byron eulogizes the soldier Marceau as shown in these lines:

> For he was freedom's champion, one of those,
> The few in number, who had not o'erstept
> The charter to *chastise* which she bestows
> On such as wield her weapons; he had kept
> The whiteness of his soul- and thus men o'er him wept.
> (*CHP* 3.57.549-553)

Byron no longer worships the Emperor and instead acknowledges Napoleon's weaknesses:

> Oh, more or less than man – in high or low,
> Battling with nations , flying thy footstool, now
> Now making monarchs necks thy footstool, now
> More than thy meanest soldier taught to yield;
> An empire thou couldst crush, command, rebuild,
> But govern not thy prettiest passion, nor,
> However deeply in men's spirits skill'd,
> Look through thine own, nor curb the lust of war,
> Nor learn the tempted Fate will leave the loftiest star. (*CHP* 3.38.334-342)

Byron's letters and journals reflect his confused and chaotic thoughts, where he meditates deeply on the impact of the gradual downfall of Napoleon on his political views. By late November 1813, his entries reflect his desire for radically different alternatives:

> Give me a republic, or a despotism of one, rather than a mixed government of one, two, three. A republic! – look in the history of the Earth – Rome, Greece, Venice, France, Holland, America, our short (eheu!) Commonwealth, and compare it with what they did under masters. (*BLJ*: 3)

In his preface to Canto 4 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Byron addressed a letter to Hobhouse, dated January 2nd 1818, where he pleads for the liberty of south European countries as well as the status of a free nation for England. All around him Byron saw the ruins or the relics or achievements of past civilizations, and he began to see his own fall in relation to that of great cities and great geniuses of former ages (Rutherford, 174). Just as Byron was seen as a champion of the revolution, the figure of Childe Harold was also a child of the Revolution in his intellectual rebelliousness and contempt for conventional morality. The concept of the Byronic hero appealed to the ordinary people who felt disillusioned by the political turmoil of the French Revolution. Readers identified with the heroes' political struggle to fight for justice and liberty as described in the poems. The figure of the Byronic hero in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* depicted the image of a social outcast and a solitary wanderer, one which had a huge appeal among his audience and met with unprecedented commercial success. Although it may seem strange, solitariness and detachment were made to be seen positively, promoting the idea, as J. Drummond Bone argues, that "social exile is virtually a precondition of rebelliousness or rebellious social criticism."[23] In this case, Byron's gloom and pessimism is not only caused by his widely publicized personal conflicts but also reflects his disappointment with Napoleon and the discouragement of post-revolutionary Europe. Harold's tone of resignation is felt as all his hope of freedom is diminished, as seen in these lines:

> When a man hath no freedom to fight at home,
> Let him combat for that of his neighbours;
> Let him think of the glories of Greece and of Rome,
> And get knock'd on the head for his labours. (*CHP* 2.561. 1 – 4)

As with *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, the development of the Byronic heroes of the Turkish Tales owed as much to political as to literary influences. As mentioned before, there is no doubt that Byron thought the English system was a failure for the people. He especially criticized the corruption in England under Foreign Minister Lord Castlereagh and George IV.[24] He also admonished the self-righteous attitude of the upper and middle classes, their hypocrisy, and their total disregard for the social misery and distress of the working class. Byron saw through King George's irresponsibility, laziness and despotism. In his journal entry for January 16th, 1814 he mentions:

> I have simplified my politics into an utter detestation of all existing governments; and as it is the shortest and most agreeable and summary feeling imaginable, the first moment of an universal republic would convert me into an advocate for single and uncontradicted despotism. The fact is, riches are power, and poverty is slavery all over the earth, and one sort of establishment is no better nor worse for a *people* than another. (*BLJ*: 225)

Almost simultaneously with the newspaper coverage of Byron's radical sympathies came the publication of the first of Byron's tales, *The Giaour*, on June 5, 1813, which was dedicated to Samuel Rogers. This poem was followed by *The Bride of Abydos* on November 29, 1813, which was dedicated to Lord Holland. The next tale, *The Corsair* which was published in February 1814 was dedicated to Thomas Moore whom Byron described as "among the firmest" of Ireland's "patriots." Finally, amidst political turmoil of the fall of Napoleon, *Lara* appeared in August, 1814. [25]

While Childe Harold is a melancholic, pensive wanderer, the heroes in the Turkish Tales are active, a corsair or chieftain still crime-laden,[26] but redeemed by some daring act of revenge that condemns the corrupt society he has abjured. Thorslev describes

the Byronic Hero in action as a noble outlaw (65). In each Tale, a domineering figure competes for mastery over a dominated female with a liberator. The context for sexual possession tends to be integrated into a wider political struggle – The Giaour, Selim, Conrad and Lara are all revolutionaries and aristocrats but the leaders of these revolutions either express their contempt for the rulers or exert their military superiority. Just like tyrannical leaders Napoleon and Ali Pasha, the heroes of the Tales including The Giaour, Selim and Conrad are rebels whose lives are "one long war with self-sought foes."[27] They are driven by the force of revenge, which often drives them to seek out foes in order to justify their own incompleteness to themselves. This pursuit of revenge in the name of justice is thus characteristic of the Byronic hero.

Another feature of the Byronic hero in the tales is the figure of the aristocratic leader. He is a true aristocrat as seen in these lines from *The Corsair:*

> Still sways their souls with that commanding art
> That dazzles, leads, yet chills the vulgar heart.
> What is that spell, that thus his lawless train
> Confess and envy, yet oppose in vain?
> What should it be? that thus their faith can bind?
> The power of Thought – the magic of the Mind! (*The Corsair* 1.8.177-82)

The hero, Conrad, is described later in the poem dashing down from his mountain home to join his crew for the expedition, but pausing immediately before coming into sight of his men 'less to breath/ The breezy freshness of the deep beneath,/ Than there his wonted statelier step renew;/ Nor rush, disturbed by haste, to vulgar view' (1. 535 – 8). The lines show the hierarchy of Conrad's band of pirates, hence giving the revolt of *The Corsair* the structure of an aristocratically–led revolution. By emphasizing the distinctive qualities of his heroes, Byron may be differentiating them from the precedents set by such

undesirables, men who were perceived to be unaristocratic in their origins, behavior and outlook. In *The Bride of Abydos*, Selim joins Conrad in his anxiety to clarify social relations among the rebel group of which he is leader.[28] As he states:

> And some to higher thoughts aspire,
> The last of Lambro's patriots there
> Anticipated freedom share;
> And oft around the cavern fire
> On visionary schemes debate,
> To snatch the Rayahs from their fate-
> So let them ease their hearts with prate
> Of equal rights, which man ne'er knew,
> I have a love for freedom too.
> Ay! Let me like the ocean-Patriarch roam...
> (*The Bride of Abydos* 2. 19.379 – 88)

Byron's journals during the period of November 1813 – April 1814 reflects his thoughts and feelings to the political scene in England that provides the political contexts of *The Corsair*. It was at this time that Byron's disillusion and weariness with Regency society and politics reached a critical level. As McGann states in the commentary to the poem, *The Corsair* is partly a symbolic formulation of the political situation of the day, as Byron saw it, with its contest between equivocal forces of revolt and the established powers of an old and corrupt order (445). Selim claims to champion "rebellion" against the "despot" Giaffir (identified like every ruler in the Tales as a "tyrant") on the grounds of the social injustice of his regime. He describes to his cousin Zuleikha the history of Giaffir's having taken out a sanction on his brother's life: [29]

> 'Tis true- the purchase nearly drained
> His ill got treasure –soon replaced-
> Woulds't question whence? Survey the waste-
> And ask the squalid peasant how
> His gain repay his broiling brow! (*The Bride of Abydos* 2.15.255-9)

Yet in his relations with Giaffir, Selim is a transparent medium for the defence of Whig politics in England. It is Giaffir who, like the English Tory party during the time of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, diverts attention from domestic politics by privileging problems abroad. His accusations that Selim is 'Greek in soul, if not in creed,' and declaration that:

> Thou, who woulds't see this battlement
> By Christian cannon piecemeal rent-
> Nay, tamely view old Stanbol's wall
> Before the dogs of Moscow fall-
> Nor strike one stroke for life and death
> Against the curs of Nazereth! (*The Bride of Abydos* 1.4.93-8)

echoes the taunts of loyal Tories to Whigs unwilling to see the war against France and Napoleon continued.[30] Neither Byron nor his associates were personally involved in any revolution resembling those of the Tales but this does not prevent the fictional narratives of the Tales from referring in structural terms to the political narratives employed in Regency England. Fox's support for the French Revolution had been qualified as early as 1790 on the grounds that democratic revolutions were essentially undesirable. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 on the other hand, was laudable because it had been an aristocratic revolution or more accurately a popular revolt headed and supervised by the nobility. This ensured the preservation of larger social order and the suppression of any popular desire for innovation (Gorman, 46).

The Giaour was written, as the advertisement suggests, shortly after 1779, when Hassan Ghazi broke the forces of the Albanians in the Morea. The Russians invaded the Morea in 1770 and took Misithra that same year. Their fleet left the Levant in 1774, when the Peace of Kainardji was signed between the Turks and the Russians (McGann,

415). The action in the poem takes place amidst political change created by the bitter Greek struggle for independence from Venetian and Ottoman domination, as well as the pressure to pledge allegiance to Russia that Catherine II was exerting on Greece.[31] The setting of *The Giaour* depicts an atmosphere of territorial dispute and military interventions, cruelty and violence. The violent theme in the narrative provides an insight into the power structure surrounding the Giaour's world. Physical power is used to assert the power of the ruling class. In this instance, the dispute between the Giaour and Hassan over property (in the form of Leila) is a political one as it shows the dominance of the ruling class over the masses. Resistance to existing control is regarded as highly criminal. The Giaour, although he loves Leila agrees to her fate of being murdered by Hassan for her betrayal. Although he later seeks vengeance that leads him to murder Hassan and threaten the ruling class, he never questions the right of a ruler to secure whatever means necessary including extermination to secure his power. Thus, the poem projects a politics of violence, showing it as a legitimate means of social control and even acceptable method of settling internal ruling-class disputes (Watkins, 886). The contrast of physical violence and revenge to his subsequent remorse and repentance for his sins as he withdraws into monastic life depicts the Giaour's rejection of violence and tyranny by the oppressive ruling class.

Lara was written during the period of the first Allied invasion of France and the Emperor's subsequent banishment to Elba. Bonaparte is himself one of the constituents of the figure of Lara, whose "gladiator's look" recalls a popular description of Bonaparte after 1812. The tale is thus regarded as a fantastic rendering of his downfall. Lara is fatally wounded in battle, expressing a desire that Bonaparte had departed more fittingly.[32] As

characters, the noble outlaws of the Turkish Tales neglect specifically the temperament of Ali Pasha, cruel tyrant of Albania and Epirus. These heroes drew admiration from Europeans who revered their national culture, but detested the idea of an established regime who had absolute control in the country. Woodring in *Politics in English Romantic Poetry* states that;

> The exaltation of revolt, although oblique because of the protagonists' guilty gloom, drew energy from, and in turn gave fresh energy to, the comtemporaneous claims of a people's right to cashier their governers. Among other pleasures for the original reader, the tales made less surreptitious the widespread sense of superiority over Pharisees, magistrates, legalitarians, and dynasties. (168)

The exploits of the rebellious heroes in the tales gave readers reassurance that ordinary citizens had some control in matters pertaining to human rights and that they were not under an absolute arbitrary rule of their leaders. The heroic exploits of the protagonists in the Turkish Tales namely Selim, Conrad and Lara are in accordance with the political situation in Britain. Selim's characterisation of his men as his 'instruments' indicates an important set of motives behind his adoption of the brigands. Not only does their mortal struggle lend him satisfying confirmation of his own aristocratic virility but they also help him effect a vendetta (avenging the murder of his father) and compete for Giaffir's throne. Selim succeeded in confounding traditional polarities of oppressor and champions of the oppressed and even king and aristocracy.[33]

The Tales revolve around the presence of Napoleon as the embodiment of libertarianism as well as around the ideological ruination of his personal decline. They can be related to the many aspects of myths surrounding Napoleon. Portrayed at times like the Giaour, as an infidel or religious apostate, he was also frequently branded a bandit or

outlaw.[34] Even a Whig like Thomas Carlyle could describe him as "belong[ing] to the brigand species."[35] The tale hints at the Giaour's equivocal nature, denouncing his claims to represent a long struggle against repressive Turkish society.

The most prominent historical intervention between the publication of *The Corsair* (February 1814) and the composition of *Lara* (May 1814) was the fall of Napoleon. The downfall of Napoleon completes Napoleon's drastic transition from a man of great influence as liberator and freedom fighter to one of tyranny. The Frenchman no longer deserves the politically correct appellation of "chief" with which Byron had previously favoured him: he is a "King" in the first line of the poem and then becomes a "despot" and a "tyrant." Crucially for the Tales, the completion of his fall entails the final destruction of the category of the hero (Hart, 119).

In terms of Byron's political progress, this episode marks in the Tales a turning point at which the Whig orthodoxy of the earlier poetry begins to fade in favour of a deeper concern with reformist issues. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, Napoleon's failure to uphold the values of democracy and liberty and his subsequent downfall had deeply affected the Foxite Whigs[36] political struggle. Eventually, Byron's sympathy for the Foxite Whigs declined and he gradually moved towards more left-wing groups such as Samuel Whitbread and his group known as "the Mountain" who championed electoral reform. Byron's politics represented by his speeches and letters on the questions of reform and wider Continental policy are consistent with those of a member of the Mountain. It is also beyond dispute that he felt a great deal of personal respect and sympathy for a man who was frequently subject to snobbish parody on account of the origin of his family's wealth.[37] As *Manfred* was to show, the impact of Napoleon's

career on Byron's political thought was far from over, but the political consequences of his decline were already suggested of the hero, specifically the aristocratic hero. The search would have to begin for a new form of liberation from the oppression of royal tyrants (Hart, 114).

Apart from the disintegration of Foxite Whig politics, Byron also faced financial problems at the time he left England. By the time he went into virtual exile in Switzerland, his situation had worsened. Byron made a decision to sell his hereditary property in order to realise what wealth remained prior to moving abroad. He had ceased attending the House of Lords and was suffering from political and social estrangement from most of aristocratic Whig society. The change in Byron's status by the time he arrived in Switzerland affected him deeply and he begun to lose the individuality and personality conferred on him by his aristocratic title and discarded the aristocratic code by which they justified to themselves their social privilege.[38] On the ninth of March 1817, Byron sent to his publisher John Murray the third and final act of *Manfred*. "I have really and truly no notion," he wrote, "whether it is good or bad - & as this was not the case with the principal of my former publications – I am therefore inclined to rank it but humbly"(*BLJ*, 183). Byron's revision of this final act coincided with his move from Venice to Rome in the spring of 1817. The timing of the completion of the poem was not coincidental, but was instead prompted by Byron's political thought by the early part of 1817. These ideas revolved around the decline of the imperialism and the end of Napoleon's era. They also include the demise of Foxite politics, Byron's own departure from the British Parliamentary scene, and the consequences of all of this for the figure of the Byronic hero (Hart, 117).

In the poem *Manfred*, the opening stanza is a soliloquy from the poem's hero and protagonist. The speech lays out the themes of the poem. Manfred bemoans the fact that;

> The Tree of Knowledge is not that of Life,
> Philosophy and science, and the springs
> Of wonder, and the wisdom of the world,
> I have essayed, and in my mind there is
> A power to make these subject to itself-
> But they avail not... (*Manfred* 1.1 12 – 17)

He then conjures up a succession of spirits to perform his commands. "I call upon ye by the written charm / Which gives me power upon you," he cries, before employing

> a tyrant-spell,
> Which had its birth – place in a star condemn'd,
> The burning wreck of a demolish'd world,
> A wandering hell in the eternal space;
> By the strong curse which is upon my soul,
> The thought which is within me and around me,
> I do compel ye to my will. – Appear! (*Manfred* 1.1 43 – 9)

This passage describes Manfred as a power broker and there are references to power like "subject," "tyrant," "compel" and "will." This power is unlike that exercised by the heroes of the Tales in that it is magical in origin. Byron's hero has achieved a powerful position in the supernatural world. The politics of the Tales differs from those of *Manfred* in that in the latter, the hero does not engage in a struggle for terrestrial dominance. He does not attempt to liberate anyone beside himself. His politics and his personal political role had been disrupted not only by events in Europe, but also by a disgraceful departure from British Parliamentary political life. Byron was no longer a man of any great political power.[39]

Manfred's contempt for power is equally matched by his passion for it as were Byron's contempt and admiration for the imperialism of Napoleonic France – a comparison whose validity rests only partly on the spirits' unprompted reference to Napoleon. The scene in the Hall of Arimanes is the best example of this with regard to the quantity of political power. These resemble the seven spirits of the first scene of act one in that their role is to embody the destructive forces of natural power. Nemesis reports that she has been

> ...detain'd reparing shattered thrones,
> Marrying fools, restoring dynasties...
> ...from the dull
> Shaping out of oracles to rule the world
> Afresh, for they were waxing out of date,
> And mortals dared to ponder for themselves,
> To weigh kings in the balance, and to speak
> Of freedom, the forbidden fruit. (*Manfred* 2.3.62 – 71)

In this stanza, Nemesis is used to voice Byron's personal political views. In challenging the authority of Arimanes, and the forms of his court, Manfred embodies Byron's struggle with the downfall of the politics of Bonapartism. The scene in the Hall of Arimanes is one of the occasions on which the poem explicitly relates its discourse of power and will to the forms of terrestrial political power[40]. At the start of Act 2 scene 3 the First Destiny's soliloquy is answered by a disembodied 'Second Voice' – probably that of either the second or the third Destiny.

> The Captive Usurper,
> Hurl'd down from the throne,
> Lay buried in torpor,
> Forgotten and lone;
> I broke through his slumbers,
> I shivered his chain,
> I leagued him with numbers –
> He's Tyrant again!

With the blood of a million he'll answer my care,
With a nation's destruction – his flight and despair (*Manfred* 2.3.16-25)

The 'Captive Usurper' refers to Napoleon while the torpor in which he is said to have been buried is his exile to the island of Elba during 1814; his escape and rise to tyranny represents his progress during the Hundred Days of March – May 1815. The supernatural presences in the poem are connected with Napoleon's lust for power, and the havoc he had brought upon Europe in his quest for it.[41]

The poem reveals the spirits' delight at the natural and political destruction of early nineteenth century imperialism, one from which Manfred is keen to distinguish himself. For example when he claims he has never experienced the 'thirst of ambition' of his fellow men, and has never 'quell'd/ An enemy, save in...just defence' (2.1.85 – 6; 2.2.53). More generally, it is Manfred's refusal to use his magical power for goals unconnected with his relationship with Astarte that makes him an anti–imperial hero. His quest for forgetfulness of, or forgiveness from Astarte is 'political' in its refusal to engage in the spirits' power-games; Manfred's private struggle finds its prime political significance in its disengagement from the public politics of the French Wars.

The satanic figure which recurs throughout Byron's poetry supports the view that Byron saw in Satan and his descendants in the gothic fiction of the 1790s more than a face and pride which resembled his own. The Satan figure symbolizes the aristocrat who had fallen into misfortune and is lamenting his own 'degradation'. He has the pride and yearning of Milton's 'hero' with little of the hope that encourages him at the start of *Paradise Lost*.[42] The source of political hopelessness includes Napoleon's defeat, his

continuing exclusion from power, and the failure of his own parliamentary career for reasons connected to both his own politics and his scandalous private life.

Manfred was the first poem that Byron produced with the explicit intention of making a personal profit. Many in the aristocratic section of the Whig party regarded Byron's move as a definitive symptom of a dependence on a market of consumers. This view further ruins Byron's self-perception as a member of the aristocratic class which has already been affected by his decision to liquidate the Byron estate, and the implications of exile from England for his role in the House of Lords.[43] As Raymond Williams and Pierre Bourdieu suggest, the literary market during the Romantic period was a period of emotional stress for the Romantic poets who were predominantly from the middle and professional classes.[44] In the case of an aristocrat like Byron this stress and anguish would have been far greater. Thus, *Manfred* is a reflection of Byron's awareness in 1816 – 17 of his own social standing and the reality of his distinction. The hero of Manfred's predicament can be compared to the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in which Harold meditates on his own position:

> He who ascends to mountain-tops, shall find
> The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
> He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
> Must look down on the hate of those below.
> Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
> And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
> Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
> Contending tempests on his naked head,
> And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.
>
> (*CHP* 3.45.397 – 405)

Byron uses the sublimity of the natural scenery in which he wrote the poem as a symbol of high rank. The natural rank of Harold and Manfred functions as an alternative to the artificial aristocracy of the British nobility. Byron makes some extensive changes to this

ending. Instead of Manfred's tower bursting into flames, the Abbot enters, and announces his intention of seeing him again. The scene then cuts to another soliloquy, this time spoken by Manfred inside his tower. The speech consists entirely of Manfred's recollection of a trip to view the ruins of ancient Rome – 'I stood within the Colosseum's wall,/ 'Midst the chief relics of almighty Rome':

> ...amidst
> A grove which springs through levell'd battlements,
> And twines its roots with the imperial hearths,
> Ivy usurps the laurel's place of growth;-
> But the gladiators' bloody Circus stands,
> A noble wreck in ruinous perfection!
> While Ceasar's chambers, and the Augustan halls,
> Grovel on earth in indistinct decay – (*Manfred* 3.4.10 –11; 23-30)

This profoundly significant speech is the climax of Byron's ideas on the decline of imperialism. Rome is seen at once as a symbol and a casualty of the decline of imperialism, and consequently provides an image for Manfred's series of meditations on his disenchantment with the exercise of power. For Byron himself, the description of the ruins of Rome enables him to represent the fall of imperialism in a way that is not directly referable either to himself or to the figure of Napoleon. It allows him to soothe the pain of recent political events by eternalising them. Italy, like Greece, had a strong hold on the English political imagination because of its historical associations. As O'Connor asserts, "The British claimed a special kinship with Italy, feeling that they were heirs, not only of the republican virtues of ancient Rome but also of its imperial glories.[45] Manfred's preoccupation with rank continues. He tells the spirit 'I have commanded/Things of an essence greater far than thine' [3.4.84-5] and pride in his imperial magic remains prominent. He defies the spirits with the following words:

> ...my past power
> Was purchased by no compact with they crew,
> But by superior science – penance – daring –
> And length of watching – strength of mind – and skill
> In knowledge of our fathers – (*Manfred* 3.4.113 – 7)

Manfred's obsession with his own rank may be prompted in the poem by the anguish of his scandalous personal life. In effect, the poem recognises the social and political implications of the scandal following the breakdown of Byron's marriage – a scandal which led to Byron's exile from aristocratic English society, and his consequent disappearance from English politics. *Manfred* represents the demise of the Byronic heroes of the Tales which had preceded it. It also highlights the end not only of Byron's active role in Parliamentary English politics but also his faith in the power of the aristocracy and imperialism in bringing about a change in society.

Notes

[1]Ronald Carter & John Mc Rae, *The History of Literature in English, Britain and Ireland* (London: TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall, 1997) 217.

[2]The Tory party was the ruling party of Britain during Byron's time and monopolized the government especially under the leadership of Prime Minister William Pitt. The term was first applied in 1679 to supporters of the future James 11 of England. The Tories became staunch royalists and supporters of the Church of England. Taking a reactionary stance because of the threat to authority posed by the French Revolution, the party lost its support after the Reform Bill of 1832 and became the Conservative party. See *The New Webster's International Encyclopedia*, ed., Micheal D. Harkavy, (Florida: Trident University Press, 1996) 1093.

[3] P.M.S. Dawson, "Poetry in an age of Revolution," *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism* ed., Stuart Curran, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 63.

[4] Dawson, 66.

[5] Carter & Mc Rae, 220.

[6] Kelvin Everest, *English Romantic Poetry* (London: Open University Press, 1990) 23.

[7]Howard Mumford Jones, *Revolution & Romanticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974) 96.

[8] In England, the term 'Whig' was applied in 1679 to protestant opponents of the English crown. The Whigs enjoyed a period of dominance (1714 – 60) notably under Robert Walpole. However, it was under the charismatic eloquent leadership of Charles James Fox that the party gained prominence. Originally a Tory but later a Whig, he was elected to Parliament in 1768. The Whig party were increasingly associated with nonconformism, mercantile, industrial and reforming interests. See Harkavy, 1180.

[9] Byron was branded as a Luddite, his response being a poem in praise of Ned Ludd, the Nottinghamshire factory worker who has become the symbol of resistance to technological advancement. Byron caused a commotion by speaking eloquently and passionately on behalf of the distressed factory workers in Nottinghamshire.

As the Liberty lads o'er the sea
Bought their freedom, and cheaply, with blood,
So we, boys, we
Will die fighting, or live free,
And down with all kings but King Ludd.

This sentiment was viewed as high treason by the government. Fortunately, Byron penned them in December 1816, when he was safely living in exile. See ed., Leslie A. Marchand, *BLJ* 2 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1973) 166-7.

[10] Lord Blake, "The politics of Byron's time," *Byron Journal* vol.17(1989): 40-41.

[11] Jorgen Klein, "Byron's Idea of Democracy:An Investigation into the Relationship Between Literature & Politics," *Byron:Poetry & Politics* eds. E. Sturzl & J. Hogg (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1981) 60.

[12] Thomas Moore, *The Life, Letters & Journals of Lord Byron* (London: John Murray , 1860) 255.

[13] E. J. Hobsbawn, *The Age of Revolution, 1789 – 1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962) 98.

[14] J. Clubbe, "Byron and Napoleon," *Litteraria Pragensia Studies in Literature and Culture* 3.5 (1993): 42 – 57.

[15] P.M. S Dawson, 63.

[16] Clubbe, 44.

[17] Francis Jeffrey, *The Edinburgh Review* 19 (1807) ed., C.W. Hart, *Fiction is the mask of history: contextual readings of Byron's poetry* diss., Cambridge University, 1996, 14-15.

[18] Alan Woods, *British Poets and the French Revolution* Part Three: Byron "Mad,

bad and Dangerous to know" <http://www.Marxist.com/Art and Literature/british poets 3.html>.

[19] In Albania, Byron encountered an almost feudal civilization ruled by the ruthless and unpredictable Ali Pacha, who was nominally under the control of the Ottoman Empire then in its final stages of dissolution. Born in 1741, he was appointed Pacha in 1788 by the Ottoman Empire (see notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* 3, *LPW* Mc Gann, 269). Like Napoleon, the powerful personality of Ali Pacha moved Byron profoundly. The spectacle of a wilful human being who could rise above his fellows always fascinated him. See *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage* William Borst (Chicago: Yale University Press) 76-77.

[20] Byron's important role in the Greek fight for liberty was highlighted in an article in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1824:

> Lord Byron had succeeded...in stirring up among the people of the part of Greece in which he resided, an almost inconceivable enthusiasm. His exertions were incessant in their cause, and the gratitude of the people was proportioned to them. His influence was not lessened by being employed often to procure humane, even kind treatment towards the 'Turkish captives'. See *British Romantic Poets Recent Revaluations* ed., Shiv Kumar, (New York: New York University Press, 1968) 155.

[21] Byron eventually saw Napoleon through the eyes of the very people whose land he was destroying, people who led good lives in good surroundings. In such a land, Napoleon was not the inheritor of the principle of the French Revolution but the invading despot. See Shiv Kumar, 164.

[22] In his notes to Stanza 44 Canto 3, Byron writes: "The great error of Napoleon, if we have writ our annals true,' was a continued obtrusion on mankind of his want of all community of feeling for or with them; perhaps more offensive to human vanity than the active cruelty of more trembling and suspicious tyranny (McGann, *LPW,* 304).

[23] J. Drummond Bone, "The Rhetoric of Freedom," *Byron: Wrath and Rhyme* ed., Alan Bold (London & Totowa: Vision & Barnes & Noble, 1983) 168.

[24] Sturzl, 182.

[25] For a detailed account of the politics surrounding the publication of the Turkish Tales, please refer to the essay by Peter J. Manning, "Tales and Politics: *The Corsair*,

Lara and *The White Dow of Rylstone*," *Byron: Poetry and Politics* eds., E. Sturzl & J. Hogg (Salzburg, University of Salzburg, 1981) 204 – 242.

[26] Jacques Barzun, "Byron & the Byronic," *The Atlantic Monthly* 192.2 (1953): 48.

[27] Jerome McGann, *Fiery Dust – Byron's Poetic Development* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 174.

[28] Hart, 88.

[29] Hart, 95.

[30] By 1813, the Whigs in England regarded Napoleon as the advocate of democracy and was therefore anxious to reach an agreement with him, whereby France would be left in his hands without restraint. The Tories on the other hand, feared him as the arch foe of monarchy and held that his views were subversive of the established order. See Micheal Roberts, "The Whigs & the War," *The Whig Party 1804-1812* (London: The Macmillan Co., 1939) 103-71.

[31] For further details on the Greek struggle for independence refer to George Finlay, *A History of Greece from its conquest by the Romans to the present time:B.C.146 to A.D.* 1864 (New York: AMS Press, 1970)

[32] Hart, 95.

[33] Refer to Philip Martin's discussion of the Tales in *Byron: A Poet before his public* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 30 – 63.

[34] H. Wheeler & A.Broadley, *Napoleon & The Invasion of England* 2 Vols. (London: J. Lane Co., 1957) 249. Even before England's intervention to assist Portugal & Spain against Napoleon in 1808, almost the entire Whig party had opposed the conduct of the war with France.

[35] Quoted in F. Maccunn, *The Contemporary English View of Napoleon* (London: Macmillan Press, 1914) 232 – 5.

[36] "Foxite Whiggery" was a term used after the death of Charles James Fox in 1806 in honour of Fox's contribution in championing political freedom and democracy. His successors including Lord Holland vowed to continue the the Foxite Whig tradition of upholding the shared lifestyles, attitudes and opinion held on a range of issues ranging from religion to literature. See F.O. Gorman, *The Whig Party & The French Revolution* (London: Macmillan Press, 1967) and L.G. Mitchell, *Holland House* (London, Duckworth Pub., 1980).

[37] Hart, 109.

[38] Leslie A. Marchand, *Byron : A Biography* (London: Murray, 1957) 540.

[39] Hart, 131.

[40] For a discussion of the difficulties characterizing Byron's thoughts on Napoleon at this time, see M. Kelsall, "The Hundred Days & Revolution's Principles," *Tropes of Revolution* C. Barfoot & T. D'Haen (Atlanta: Rodopi Editions, 1991) 114-27.

[41] Hart, 136.

[42] Robert Southey, "Two letters concerning Lord Byron" in *Essays, Moral & Politics* 2 vols. 1971, 181 – 205. Southey's description of Napoleon as 'Lucifer' in the Essays reinforces the link between the Satanic School & pro-Napoleon politics.

[43] Hart, 141.

[44] Raymond Williams, "The Romantic Artist," *Culture & Society 1780-1950* (London: Harvard University Press, 1958) and Pierre Bourdieu, "The Market of Symbolic Goods," *The Field of Cultural Production* ed. & intro by R. Johnson (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[45] Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and The English Political Imagination*

(London: Macmillan Press, 1998) 21.